3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

411
531

sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

411
778

Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physical but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[84]

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

845 The magical associations of buffalo hides with tails is not clear, but the effect of otter medicine is obvious. Otters like to slide down slippery mud banks. With similar ease the child will slide out. A conception of the birth lodge as a symbolic womb is also there. Just as the medicine man emerges through the door (vagina), so will the child.

846 When the baby was born, the doleful cries and monotonous songs of the attendants immediately changed to rejoicing. After the umbilical cord had been cut, the medicine woman wrapped it and hung it in a hackberry tree when one was convenient. If it was undisturbed before it rotted, the child was supposed to have a long and fortunate life. The medicine woman carried the afterbirth and threw it in a running stream (the purifier that nullifies power). The baby was bathed and wrapped in soft rabbit skins and placed in its cradle-board. The number of days the new mother remained in bed was set by the attending midwife. In recent times, ten days is considered the customary time needed for recovery, but there are cases on record where the woman had had serious difficulty and yet was on her feet going about her way before an attendant had washed and wrapped the baby. During the entire time of confinement no man except a doctor entered her tipi. The grandfather, however, always came right away to ask the sex of the child. He stood outside the lodge, and if it was a boy, the women within would call, "*ɛhaitsma*" ("It's your close friend"). If a girl, they simply say, "*ɜsamop'ma*" ("It's a girl"). The new mother was not allowed to eat a single bite of meat; "it makes blood and would cause hemorrhage." Each day sage was burned over the coals to purify the tipi. One of the first things the woman did when she got up from her bed was to bathe in running water. A proud father usually made it a point to give away something. Normally his generosity was limited to the first person who came to see the new baby. If it was a boy and the father well-to-do, the gift would be a horse.[23]

●841 During menstruation a woman went into confinement. If her husband had medicine (and what man did not?), she could not sleep

[23] This description of childbirth is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman, Kills Something, and Post Oak Jim; also, House, *op. cit.*, 59; W. T. Corlett, *The Medicine Man of the American Indians* (report of a frontier surgeon stationed at Fort Sill in 1869), 269.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

in his tipi, for menstrual blood nullifies all power. If she had no tipi of her own, she moved in with her parents ("the medicine of old people was too weak to be harmed"). When an article in her tent was needed by someone, it was set or pitched out the door, and no one entered against the occupant's will. During the time, she ate no meat; it would make her sick at the stomach and cause her to flow more. She could not wash her face because that would make her get wrinkled before her time; nor could she touch or comb her hair because it would cause her to get gray young. At the end of her period she had to bathe in a running creek, no matter how cold, even if it was frozen over, before she could go back to her husband's tipi. No man could eat from the same dish or drink from the same cup as she until this had been done. An unmarried girl had to observe approximately the same restrictions. After menopause all female tabus were removed; the woman was now physiologically equal to man.

All societies recognize at least three age groupings, child, adult, and old person. The Comanches, for their part, recognized five age groups:

ona:—a baby	*ona:*—a baby
tuinɜp'—a boy up to adolescence	*tuepɜt*—a girl up to adolescence
tuiβitsi—a young, unmarried brave	*naiβi*—an adolescent girl
tɛnap'—a grown man; also *muwɔ:* (a substitute term used by some people who had to observe the tabu on the use of the name of a dead relative when *tɛnap'* had been used as a personal name.	*hɜβi*—a grown woman
tsukup'—an old man; also, *naraβɜ*, a joking term of familiarity.	*pu'stɜ*—an old woman

The physical difference between child and adult is easily recognizable, and the passage from childhood to maturity is marked by physiological events which make it possible to date it, exactly for

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*ᵉ) which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

[844] The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
● [841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[848] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
●841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 684 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. However, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 586 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 [482] [841] [684] If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband. When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors, it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

● 841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is absent. If the family with whom she stays are under the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [*60*] retreat four days, during

426 783] [262]

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

which time she takes no food, except a little broth and some kind of vegetables; but on no account will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat without washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔïtanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahm-suapI *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhcI? *contrary one* (The Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nïmïkuhcU]; ta.té?cI[135] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pïhïre?cI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tïvahpI *pinon nuts*; tïkehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover* (*back medicine*); kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavïhka?I *to be menstruating* (*to become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yI *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[136] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mï· *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite* (*to*

[171] [183] [841] [262]

[135] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[136] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is working her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the presence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts. Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
759

ekɔpa

[777]
[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[84] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunɔnaitu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the bark of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakuma[h]

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakuma[h] is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants